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THE FRONTIERS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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Richard Hingley

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Introduction

To simplify the list of sources, all accounts postdate 1985, apart from a few key earlier works. The Roman frontiers are often referred to in the German literature as the '*limes*'. It is not practical to include specific accounts of particular sites and monuments, since there are thousands of relevant sites. The focus of the works in this list is upon period from first to early fifth CE and the list does not address the frontiers of the Byzantine empire. The works are divided into themes that address the history of research, the meaning of frontiers, the physical character of these works, the complex nature of the populations living along and beyond their lines, late Roman frontiers and the current move to develop approaches to the heritage of the Roman frontiers. I have deliberately emphasised works that aim to bring a broader range of interpretations that move beyond the dominant focus of Roman frontier studies on the material remains of the Roman military units.

General overviews

There are a number of general accounts of the Roman frontiers but no single substantial and authoritative account. The best overall summary is Breeze 2011, while Breeze et al. 2005 also provides a concise and well illustrated study. General accounts of the Roman empire, including Woolf 2012, often do not explore the frontiers in any great detail since they usually choose to focus on the Mediterranean. Other books in this list provide articles that discuss specific topics or sections of the frontier, including Breeze et al. 2015 and Hanson 2009. Moschek 2011 and Klose and Nünnerich-Asmus provide well-informed summaries in German. Whittaker 1994 is a highly important study of the social and economic function of the Roman frontier. Heckster and Kaizer 2011 and Hoyos 2013 contain collections of papers relating to frontiers and borders.

Breeze, David. J. *The Frontiers of Imperial Rome*. Barnsley, Pen & Sword, 2011.

An excellent short introduction to the monument written by the leading expert, with sections on the archaeological remains and the strategy of the Roman army. This book also has a very useful bibliography of relevant works, including a variety of additional sources to those listed here for the *limes* in Germany.

Breeze, David J., Rebecca H. Jones and Ioana A. Oltean, eds. *Understanding Roman Frontiers: a celebration for Professor Bill Hanson*. Edinburgh, John Donald, 2015.

This book focuses upon how to understand the operation and functioning of Roman frontiers and the impact of these frontiers on the people who lived along their lines.

Breeze, David. J., Sonja Jilek and Andreas Thiel. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*. Historic Scotland/Deutsche Limeskommission, Edinburgh/Esslingen/Wien, 2005.

A short general book which introduced the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage initiative and gives a general description of the archaeological and historical sources, with text in English, German, French and Arabic.

Hanson, William S., ed. *The Army and Frontiers of Rome: Papers offered to David J. Breeze on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*. Portsmouth R.I., Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 74, 2009.

A collection of 22 papers presented to the preeminent Roman frontier scholar, including papers on army organisation, frontiers, military history, military and logistic supply and Roman and 'native' interaction.

Heckster, Olivier and Ted Kaizer, eds. *Frontiers in the Roman World: Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire*. Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2011.

A wide-ranging series of articles arising from a conference held in Durham (UK) in 2009, addressing ancient historical and archaeological accounts of Roman frontiers and frontier societies.

Hoyos, Dexter, ed. *A Companion to Roman Imperialism*. Leiden, Brill, 2013.

An edited book containing a number of articles on imperialism, frontiers and Roman contacts with frontier peoples.

Moschek, Wolfgang. *Der Römische Limes. eine Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichte*. Speyer, Kartoffeldruck-Verlag, 2011.

A thoughtful account of the Roman frontiers that explores their character and the historical context in which knowledge has developed.

Klose, Gerhild and Annette Nünnerich-Asmus, eds. *Grenzen des römischen Imperiums*. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 2005.

A colourful and authoritative book with a range of papers by academic experts on the limits (or frontiers) of the Roman empire. The text is in German and there is no comparable volume currently published in English.

Whittaker, C. R. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A social and economic study*. Baltimore and London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

An inspired account of the social and economic landscapes created at the frontier of Roman imperial control, which remains required reading.

Woolf, Greg. *Rome: an empire's story*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.

An accessible introduction to the Roman empire, but with rather limited discussion of the frontiers. Accounts of the Roman frontiers perhaps need to be integrated more fully into general works that address the Roman empire.

Congress of Roman Frontiers proceedings

The Congress of Roman Frontier Studies was first established by Eric Birley in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1949. It has now met on twenty three occasions in various parts of the frontier lands of the former Roman empire. The six volumes listed below contain a wealth of papers that address the structure and history of the Roman frontiers and provide a key source of information. Only the volumes post-dating 1991 are listed here in chronological order.

Vagalinski, Lyudmil and Nicolay Sharankov, eds. *Limes XXII: proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Ruse, Bulgaria, September 2012*. Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, 2015.

An immense edited volume of almost 1,000 pages with a variety of papers covering the Roman frontiers. Themes covered include fortifications and soldiers, veterans on the frontiers, families and dependants of soldiers, civil settlements, religion and burial, Rome and barbaricum, interdisciplinary researches, remote sensing and heritage. This gives a good account of the current state of Roman frontier studies.

Morillo, Ángel, Norbert Hanel and Esperanza Martín, eds. *Limes XX: Estudios sobre la Frontera Romana/Roman Frontier Studies, León (España), Septiembre, 2006*. 3 vols. CSIC, Madrid, 2009.

Another immense collection of articles on a variety of topics, including the internal frontier, the end of frontiers, walled towns and military fortifications, soldiers on the move, the development of early frontiers and regional studies from a range of provinces.

Visy, Zsolt, ed. *Limes XIX: Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*. Pécs, University of Pécs, 2005.

A substantial collection of articles focusing on epigraphy, how frontiers worked, relationships with 'barbarians' on the frontiers, civilians on frontiers, supply and consumption of food and drink, soldiers and religion and material culture.

Freeman, Philip, Julian Bennett, Zbigniew T. Fiema and Birgitta Hoffmann, eds. *Limes XVIII: proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, held in Amman, September 2000*. 2 vols. Oxford, Archaeopress, 2002.

An immense double volume of almost 1,000 pages with a variety of papers covering the Roman frontiers. Themes covered include the Eastern Frontiers, Rome and Parthia, the Anatolian Provinces and the Black Sea region, North Africa, the Germanies, the Danubian and Balkan provinces, Dacia, Iberia, Britain, the Roman army, fortifications, fleets and frontiers and documents and archives.

Groenman-van Waateringe, W., B. L. van Beek, W.J.H. Willems and S.L. Wynia, eds. *Roman frontier studies 1995: Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*. Oxford, Oxbow, 1997.

A substantial collection of articles on the Roman frontiers, including papers on military deployment, river frontiers versus artificial frontiers, problems of late frontiers, the excavations at Alésia (France), forts and vici, social and economic connections across the frontiers and the resourcing and supplying of the Roman army.

Maxfield, Valerie A. and Michael J. Dobson, eds. *Roman frontier studies 1989: proceedings of the XVth Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*. Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 1991.

An edited volume with a collection of papers covering regions and various thematic issues. Many of these papers have subsequently been updated as the result of further research.

Histories of research

There is a growing literature on the history of the study of the Roman frontiers, including a number of volumes that explore research on particular geographical sections. Much of this research is focused, however, on the frontier works in the UK and additional research and publications required for the Germany and the south and east of the Mediterranean.

The Congress of Roman Frontier Studies

Barely 2002 describes the history of this Congress. An update of this article is now required to address the four Congresses that have occurred since.

Birley, Anthony R. 'Fifty years of Roman Frontier studies', in Philip Freeman, Julian Bennett, Zbigniew T. Fiema and Birgitta Hoffmann, eds. *Limes XVIII: proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, held in Amman, September 2000*. 2 vols.: 1–11. Oxford, Archaeopress, 2002.

A survey of the history of this Congresses from its foundation by Eric Birley in 1949 to 2000.

Antonine Wall

Two accounts have recently been published. Kelpie 2012 is a through study while Maldonado's article explores a specific period in the monument's history.

Keppie, Lawrence. *The Antiquarian Rediscovery of the Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2012.

A thorough and very well-illustrated account of the history of the rediscovery of the monument from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth.

Maldonado, Adrián. 'The Early Medieval Antonine Wall', *Britannia* 46 (2015): 225–245.

An account of the meaning and history of the monument in medieval times.

Hadrian's Wall

The two recent accounts by Hingley 2012 and Breeze 2014 provide details of the history of this famous monument.

Breeze, David J. *Hadrian's Wall: a history of Archaeological Thought*. Carlisle, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 2014.

An account of how antiquaries and archaeologists have explored the Wall through the ages including a thorough study of work since the late nineteenth century.

Hingley, Richard. *Hadrian's Wall: A Life*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.

A survey of the history of the rediscovery of the monument and its landscape from the sixth century to the modern day heritage landscape, including studies of antiquarian and archaeological research and of artistic renditions of the Wall in literature and art.

The limes on the Rhine and Danube

Additional accounts of the history of research on the *limes* would be helpful but Mosche's book provides a useful source. .

Moschek, Wolfgang. *Der Römische Limes. Eine Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichte*. Speyer, Kartoffeldruck-Verlag, 2011.

This thoughtful account contains a discussion of the history of research since the Renaissance.

North Africa

Additional accounts on the history of research in North Africa and the East are required to supplement Mattingly's significant study.

Mattingly, David. 'From one colonialism to another: imperialism and the Maghreb', in David Mattingly *Imperialism, Power and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*: 43–72. Oxford, Princeton, 2011.

A key text on the impact of modern colonialism on Roman frontier research in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, originally published in 1996 and republished in this volume.

Frontier concepts

Some of these works address the meaning of the Latin terms used to identify the limits of the Roman empire (including in particular Isaac 1988 but also Edwell 2013, Elton 1996 and Richardson 2011). One problem is that classical writers had comparatively little to say on this topic. The references by Hanson 2002, Hodgson 2005, Rankov 2005 and Visy 2015 discuss the functioning of frontiers and elements of the frontier. The book by Drummond and Nelson seeks to develop a comparative approach.

Drummond, Stephen K. and Lynn H. Nelson. *The Western Frontiers of Imperial Rome*. New York and London, M. E. Sharpe, 1994.

A general account of all aspects of the Roman frontier which aims to take a comparative approach.

Edwell, Peter M. 'Definitions of Roman imperialism', in Dexter Hoyos, ed. *A Companion to Roman Imperialism*: 39–52. Leiden, Brill, 2013.

An article that assesses a number of key concepts, including *imperium*, *provincia* and *limes*. Including an assessment of how understandings of the marginal lands of the empire may have changed through the centuries.

Elton, Hugh. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1996.

A book that addresses the concept of frontiers in the Roman empire, assessing how these works are thought to have operated. Part of the attempt to move away from interpreting Roman frontiers as physical fortifications. This contains some comparative work addressing frontiers in other times and places.

Hanson, William S. 'Why did the Roman empire cease to expand?' in Philip Freeman, Julian Bennett, Zbigniew T. Fiema and Birgitta Hoffmann, eds. *Limes XVIII: proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, held in Amman, September 2000*. 2 vols.: 25–34. Oxford, Archaeopress, 2002.

Addresses the expansionist policy of Rome and the reasons that led to a cessation in expansion during the first and second centuries CE.

Hodgson, Nick. 'Gates and passages across the frontiers', in Zsolt Visy, ed. *Limes XIX: Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*: 183–188. Pécs, University of Pécs, 2005.

An exploration of the character and potential role of gates and passages through Roman frontier works in Britain, Germany and Raetia, pointing out the difficulty of assessing how permeable these works may have been.

Isaac, Benjamin. 'The Meaning of "*Limes*" and "*Limitanei*" in Ancient Sources', *Journal of Roman Studies* 78 (1988): 125–147.

A key discussion of the meaning of the two term in the classical accounts, arguing that the term *limes* was used in the first century CE to describe the construction of a military road and came from the later first century to indicate the demarcation of the borders of the empire, but that it does not refer to military structures or frontier organisation. It also describes how the term *limes* became accepted during the nineteenth century by the Germans to address Roman frontier research.

Lintott, Andrew. *Imperium Romanum: Politics and administration*. London, Routledge, 1993.

An account of the administrative organisation of the Roman empire with a brief review of the available information for the character and development of the *limes*.

Rankov, Boris. 'Do rivers make good frontiers', in Zsolt Visy, ed. *Limes XIX: Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*: 175–182. Pécs, University of Pécs, 2005.

A consideration of the role of rivers in the definition of Roman frontiers, making the point that there were logical limits to the empire because they were well defensible.

Richardson, John. '*Fines Provinciae*', in Olivier Heckster and Ted Kaizer, eds. *Frontiers in the Roman World: Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire*: 1–11. Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2011.

An account of ideas about how provincial boundaries might have been conceptualised in the Roman world from the third century BC to the first century AD, with connotations for meanings of the frontiers that defined the Roman world.

Visy, Zsolt. 'The River Line Frontiers of the Roman Empire', in David J. Breeze, Rebecca H. Jones and Ioana A. Oltean, eds. *Understanding Roman Frontiers: a celebration for Professor Bill Hanson*: 27–36. Edinburgh, John Donald, 2015.

An account of the shifting frontiers of the Roman empire and the role of rivers in defining these boundaries.

Roman frontier strategy

These accounts explore the thorny topic of the extent to which the Roman empire may be through to have had some form of coordinated strategy on the frontiers, as argued by Luttwack 1976. The overall conclusion appears to be that it did not, as argued by Millar 1982 and Whittaker 2004. Greatrex 2007 and Gambash 2015 appear more supportive of the idea of a general strategy, while Potteer 2013 also addresses the gradual development of Roman ideas about frontiers.

Gambash, Gil. *Rome and Provincial Resistance*. London, Routledge, 2015.

An account of Roman repulses to insurrection on the frontiers. This does not explore the establishment of the physical works that formed Roman frontiers but does address the political or strategic contexts in which imperial officials made decisions about the creation and management of frontiers.

Greatrex, Geoffrey. 'Roman frontiers and foreign policy in the east', in Richard Alston and Samuel Lieu, eds. *Aspects of the Roman East: Papers in honour of Professor Fergus Millar*. 103–173. Belgium, Brepols, 2007.

An article that argues that the Roman had a clear concept of the frontier in the late empire and also clear frontiers, at least in some regions. This also includes a discussion of the meaning of the words *limes* and *fines*.

Luttwack, Edward N. *The Grand Strategy of the Roman Empire*. London and Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

A controversial account of Roman frontier strategy which has led to heated debates about the purpose of these works and the degree to which the Romans had a coordinated strategy.

Millar, Fergus. 'Emperors, Frontiers and Foreign Relations, 31 BC to AD 378', *Britannia* 13 (1982): 1–23.

A consideration of Roman policy for the frontiers during a lengthy period of time, trying to establish whether there was a conceptual framework for policy on and beyond the frontiers. This article was a response to Luttwack's book and the topic is still subject to considerable debate.

Potter, David. 'The limits of power', in Dexter Hoyos, ed. *A Companion to Roman Imperialism*: 319–332. Leiden, Brill, 2013.

An article on the power of the Roman empire and constraints to its expansion, which also explores gradual formation of frontier after Augustus.

Whittaker, C. R. *Rome and its frontiers: the dynamics of empire*. London, Routledge, 2004.

A collection of ten essays that address topics of frontiers and migration across the Roman world, including a number of significant contributions on the character of the Roman frontiers and the relevance of these works today.

Frontier theory

There is relatively little published work that explicitly addresses the theme of theory and much of this literature derives from the UK (e.g. Hingley 2008 and Witcher et al. 2010). Dyson 1985 was a very important early study and the recent edited publications by Totten and Lafrenz Samuels (2012) and Janković et al. (2014) show that a broader focus is developing. Mattingly 2011 sets frontier policy in the broader area of Roman imperialism.

Dyson, Stephen. *The creation of the Roman frontier*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985.

A key theoretical study of the origins of frontier policy in Republican Rome that explores how Roman society, like the United States, was shaped by its own frontier.

Hingley, Richard. 'Hadrian's Wall in Theory: Pursuing new agendas?', in Bidwell, Paul, ed.

Understanding Hadrian's Wall: papers from a conference held at South Shields, 3rd–5th November 2006: 25-28. Kendal, The Arbeia Society, 2008.

Arguing the need to adopt a theoretical and comparative approach to the study of the Roman frontiers, with a particular focus on Hadrian's Wall.

Janković, Marko A., Vladimir D. Mihajlović and Staša Babić, eds. *The Edges of the Roman World*: 19-32. Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

A collection of papers with a theoretical slant that explores range of topics related to the edges of the Roman world. This arose from a conference held in Serbia in 2012.

Totten, Darian Marie and Kathryn Lafrenz Samuels, eds. *Making Roman Places, Past and Present: Papers presented at the first Critical Roman Archaeology Conference held at Stanford University in March, 2008*: 11-32. Rhode Island, Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary Series 89, 2012.

A collection of papers with a theoretical slant that derives from a conference held in the United States of America and focused, mainly, on the south and east of the Mediterranean.

Mattingly, David J. *Imperialism, Power and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*. Oxford, Princeton, 2011.

A book that addressed the colonial legacy of Roman imperial archaeology, with important lessons for Roman frontier studies throughout the margins of the empire.

Witcher, R., D. Tolia Kelly and R. Hingley. 'Archaeologies of Landscape: Excavating the Materialities of Hadrian's Wall', *Journal of Material Culture* 15(1) (2010): 105-128.

An article that explores Hadrian's Wall as a material landscape deriving from a major cross-disciplinary project undertaken in the UK.

Frontier comparison

Comparative work that addresses the Roman frontiers in relation to later fortification and border works is rather rare but examples are included. Chaichian 2014 is a broadly comparative work, while Mullin 2011 contains a number of examples that set the Roman frontiers in context. Graf 2005 and Moschek 2010 provide direct comparisons between the Roman frontiers and other frontier works, while Hingley and Hartis 2011 use modern borders to help to re-conceptualise Hadrian's Wall. Bienkowski 2006 is an interesting cross-temporal work that draws a section of the Roman frontier into a discussion of a contested frontier region.

Bienkowski, Piotr. 'The Wadi Arabah: meanings in a contested landscape', in Piotr Bienkowski and Katharina Galor, eds. *Crossing the Rift: Resources, routes, settlement patterns and interactions in the Wadi Arabah: 7–28*. Oxford, Oxbow, 2006.

An introduction to a volume that addresses the archaeological evidence for this contested frontier zone through time, including brief comments on Roman frontier works. This major geological feature now forms the frontier between Jordan and Israel.

Chaichian, Mohammed A. *Empires and Walls: Globalization, Migration and Colonial Domination*. Leiden, Brill, 2014.

A comparative volume by a sociologist which contrasts and compares frontiers and fortifications in nine colonial contexts. The first two case studies involve Hadrian's Wall and the Gorgan Wall in Iran, although all the other examples are from the modern world.

Graf, D. 'Rome and China: some frontier comparisons', in Zsolt Visy, ed. *Limes XIX: Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*: 157–166. Pécs, University of Pécs, 2005.

An attempt to compare the Roman frontiers with the Han dynasty military frontiers in China. This is an example of the type of comparative work that might well be developed further.

Hingley, Richard and Rich Hartis. 'Contextualising Hadrian's Wall: The Wall as 'Debatable Lands'', in Olivier Heckster and Ted Kaizer, eds. *Frontiers in the Roman World: Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire*: 79–95. Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2011.

An article that aims to apply some concepts deriving from the study of modern borderlands to the interpretation of the Roman frontiers. It argues that new approaches might enliven the study of the Roman frontiers.

Moschek, Wolfgang. 'Hitler's Limes: der Westwall zwischen Aachen und Freiburg', *Der Limes: Nachrichtenblatt der Deutschen Limeskommission*, 4 (2010): 28–31.

A fascinating account in German of how Adolf Hitler drew on the Roman frontiers to plan and build a western wall to defend Germany during the late 1930s.

Mullin, David, ed. *Places in Between: the archaeology of social, cultural and geographical borders and borderlands*. Oxford, Oxbow, 2011.

An interesting collection of articles on archaeological approaches to borders and borderlands. This does not contain a discussion of the Roman frontiers but includes a variety of comparative approaches that could help to inform now accounts of the Roman empire.

Regional accounts

A series of small books arising from the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site initiative give short summaries of particular sections of the monument. A few of the many additional accounts of regional sections of the Roman frontiers are also listed.

Antonine Wall

This list contains recent works only. Breeze two small books provide handy accounts and Graafstal et al. 2015 considers the planning of the monument.

Breeze, David. J. *Edge of Empire: The Antonine Wall*. Edinburgh, Birlinn, 2009.

A well illustrated introduction to the Wall and its surviving remains.

Breeze, David. J. *The Frontiers of the Roman Empire: The Antonine Wall*. Historic Scotland, Edinburgh, 2009.

A succinct account of the Wall arising from the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site initiative in English and German.

Graafstal, Eric, David J. Breeze, Rebecca H. Jones and Matthew F. A. Symonds. 'Sacred cows on the landscape: rethinking the planning of the Antonine Wall', in David J. Breeze, Rebecca H. Jones

and Ioana A. Oltean, eds. *Understanding Roman Frontiers: a celebration for Professor Bill Hanson*: 54–69. Edinburgh, John Donald, 2015.

An up-to-date account of the planning and structure of the Antonine Wall, including its forts and fortlets.

Hadrian's Wall

It is only possible to give a selection of the many published works here. Breeze and Dobson 2000 is the standard account and Breeze 2006 provides a detailed structure account of the monument. Breeze 2011 provides a brief but well illustrated account. Bidwell 2008 and Collins and Symonds provide selections of articles that address the monument.

Bidwell, Paul, ed. *Understanding Hadrian's Wall: papers from a conference held at South Shields, 3rd–5th November 2006*. Kendal, The Arbeia Society, 2008.

A collection of papers containing studies of the function of the Wall, supplies along the frontier and the contemporary value of the monument.

Breeze, David. J. J. *Collingwood Bruce's Handbook to the Roman Wall 14th edition*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, 2006.

The latest edition of the long-running Handbook, with accounts of all the archaeological remains and a summary of the history and context of the Wall.

Breeze, David. J. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: Hadrian's Wall*. Hexham, Hadrian's Wall Trust, 2011.

A succinct account of the Wall arising from the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site initiative in English, German and French.

Breeze, David and Brian Dobson. *Hadrian's Wall*. Third edition. London, Penguin, 2000.

A handy and influential account which will warrant a further reprint soon.

Collin, Rob and Matthew Symonds, eds. *Breaking down Boundaries: Hadrian's Wall in the 21st century*. Portsmouth R.I, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 93, 2013.

An edited volume of papers that addresses new approaches to Hadrian's Wall, aiming to challenge previous preconceptions of the monument and its landscape.

The limes on the Danube and Rhine

Books in English are rare but a selection of sources are listed including accounts that address particular areas. Bate 2000 is a standard account, while the books by Dyzeck 2008, Harmadyová et al. 2008, Jilek et al. 2011, Lendering and Bosman 2012, Matešić and Sommer 2015, Thiel 2008 and Zsolt 2008 contain information about particular sections of the *limes*. There are many other accounts and only a selection is given here.

Batz, Dietwulf. *Der Römische Limes: Archäologische Ausflüge zwischen Rhein and Donau*. Berlin, Verlag, 2000.

An authoritative book on the limes that has been republished on a number of occasions since its first publication in 1974.

Dyczek, Piotr. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: The Lower Danube Limes in Bulgaria*. University of Warsaw, Poland, 2008.

A succinct account of the limes in Bulgaria arising from the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site initiative in English and Bulgarian.

Harmadyová, Katrína, Ján Rajtár, Jaroslava Schmidtová. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: Slovakia*. Archeologický ústav SAV, Múzeum mesta Bratislavy, Nitra, Slovakia, 2008.

A succinct account of the limes in Slovakia arising from the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site initiative in English and German and Slovak.

Jilek, Sonja, Eva Kuttner and Andreas Schwarcz. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: The Danube Limes in Austria*. Wein, Austrian Institute for Historical Research, 2011.

A succinct account of the limes in Austria arising from the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site initiative in English and German.

Lendering, Jona and Arjen Bosman. *Edge of Empire: Rome's frontier on the Lower Rhine*. Rotterdam, Karwansaray, 2012.

A colourful and well-illustrated guide to the Roman frontiers on the Lower Rhine (the Netherlands), addressing the Roman conquest of the area, the indigenous peoples and the establishment of the Roman frontiers. This volume draws upon extensive excavations undertaken over the past few decades.

Matešić, Suzanna and Sebastian Sommer, eds. *At the Edge of the Roman Empire: Tours along the Limes in Southern Germany*. Munich, Deutsche Limeskommission, 2015.

A collection of articles and detailed catalogue of sites, aimed at visitors but also scholarly and informative. Including articles on the history, structure and researching of this section of the limes.

Thiel, Andreas. 'Innovation and perfection: Antoninus Pius' frontier in Germany', in Paul Bidwell, ed. *Understanding Hadrian's Wall: papers from a conference held at South Shields, 3rd–5th November 2006*: 83–90. Kendal, The Arbeia Society, 2008.

A handy summary of the evidence for the second century Roman frontiers along the Rhine and Danube in Germany.

Zsolt, Visy. *A Római Limes Magyarországon*. Pécsi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Szeminárium, Pécs, Hungary, 2008.

A succinct account of the limes in Hungary arising from the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site initiative in English, German and Hungarian.

Dacia/Romania

Studies of the Roman frontiers in Dacia include these works by Hanson and Haynes 2002, Hanson and Oltean 2015 and Zsolt 2009.

Hanson, William and Ian Haynes, eds. *Roman Dacia: The making of a provincial society*. Portsmouth R.I., Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 56, 2002.

A collection of papers examining Roman Dacia, with articles on the Iron Age background, the Dacians, forts, towns and religious beliefs.

Hanson, William and Ioana A. Oltean. 'The "Valu lui Traian": a Roman frontier rehabilitated', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 25 (2015): 297–318.

An account of frontier works in Romania that have been assumed since the 1950s to date to the C10 to C11 but have been identified through archaeological survey as probably representing a Roman frontier work.

Zsolt, Visy. 'Mapping the SW *limes* of Dacia', in William Hanson ed. *The Army and Frontiers of Rome: Papers offered to David J. Breeze on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*: 115–126. Portsmouth R.I., Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 74, 2009.

An account of the Roman frontiers in the province of Dacia, assessing the location and available information.

The East

A number of accounts describe and analyse the Eastern frontier works and a section are listed. Isaac 2000 is a key work on the eastern limits of the empire. Parker 2006 and 2009 explore recent research in Jordan and Arabia, while Kennedy 2004 addresses Jordan; Maxfield 2005 discusses Egypt. The edited volumes by French and Lightfoot 1988 and Kennedy 1996 address the Roman army and the eastern frontiers.

French, D. H. and C. S. Lightfoot. *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire: Proceedings of a colloquium held at Ankara in September 1988*. 2 vols. British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Monograph No. 11, Oxford, British Archaeological Reports International 553, 1989.

A substantial collection of articles that address the Roman frontiers in the east, perhaps now slightly dated. This includes papers on specific sites and regions and also some more conceptual papers that set the eastern frontiers in context.

Isaac, Benjamin. *The Limits of Empire: the Roman army in the east*. Revised edition. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000.

A highly important study of the eastern frontiers based on fieldwork by one of the main scholars working on the interpretation of Roman frontiers. This also contains a very interesting discussion of the impact of 'current affairs' on the contemplation of the frontier and a consideration of whether imperial Rome had a 'grand strategy'.

Kennedy, David. *The Roman Army in the East*. Portsmouth R.I, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary volume 18, 1996.

A collection of papers written in response to Isaac's major study *The Limits of Empire*, with a number of papers that focus on the frontiers and military topics.

Kennedy, David. *The Roman army in Jordan*. Reprinted. London, Council for British Research in the Levant, 2004.

A summary of the Roman frontiers in Jordan, produced for the XVIIIth Congress of Roman Frontier Studies in Amman. This contains a summary of Roman Jordan and a detailed illustrated account of the remains.

Maxfield, Valery. 'Organisation of a desert limes: the case of Egypt', in Visy Zsolt, ed. *Limes XIX: Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Pécs, Hungary, September 2003*: 201–210. Pécs, University of Pécs, 2005.

An account of how climatic and topographic factors in this desert environment impacted on the organisation of the Roman frontier.

Parker, S. Thomas. 'The Roman frontier in Southern Arabia: a synthesis of recent research', in William Hanson ed. *The Army and Frontiers of Rome: Papers offered to David J. Breeze on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday*: 142–152. Portsmouth R.I., Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 74, 2009.

An up-to-date summary of knowledge for the Roman frontier in Southern Arabia with an assessment of these works, assessing the relationship between Romans and Nabateans.

Parker, S. Thomas. *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan: Final Report of the Limes Arabicus Project, 1980–1989*. 2 vols. Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, 2006.

The substantial report on a major archaeological survey project that explores the frontier works and also the finds from the project, including a summary of the history and character of the Roman frontiers in Jordan.

North Africa

A number of accounts describe and analyse these works and a section are listed. Terry 1998, Jackson 2002 and Mattingly et al. 2013 provide summaries. Mattingly 1995 is a key work that addresses the African frontier and its context, while Trouser 2004 contains a detailed summary of the Roman frontiers in Tunisia.

Cherry, David. *Frontier and Society in Roman North Africa*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1998.

An account of Roman frontier society that explores the character of the frontier system and the evidence for people living in these landscapes in what is now Algeria during the Roman period.

Jackson, Robert B. *At Empire's edge: exploring Rome's Egyptian frontier*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002.

An account of the Roman frontier in Egypt including a history of these works and a gazetteer of sites to visit, with copious illustrations.

Mattingly, David. *Tripolitania*. London, Batsford, 1995.

A key account of the Roman province of Tripolitania in North Africa with a detailed summary of the Roman frontiers through time.

Mattingly, David, Alan Rushworth, Martin Sterry and Victoria Leitch. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: The African Frontiers*. Edinburgh, Hussar, 2013.

A succinct account of the African limes arising from the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site initiative in English, German and French. This has a helpful biography

of relevant works and stresses the relative absence of archaeological research in this region.

Trousset, Pol. 'Pénétration romaine et organisation de la zone frontière dans le prédésert tunisien', *L'Africa romana* 15(1) (2004): 59–88.

A synthesis of the information for the Roman frontier in Tunisia by an scholar who has undertaken extensive work in this region.

Frontier peoples

Only a few sources out of a very extensive literature are listed below. The Limes Congress volumes also contain numerous relevant papers.

The Roman army

There are many accounts of the Roman army. Gulliver 1999 and Goldsworthy 1996 provide summaries of the evidence for Roman warfare. Bowman 2006 considers the evidence for common Latin literacy in frontier regions. Alison 2013, Birley 2013, Carroll and Green 2015 discuss military communities, developing arguments outlined by James 1999 in an important contribution to the debate about the Roman army as community.

Allison, Penelope M. *People and Spaces in Roman Military Bases*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

An important attempt to understand more of the lives of military communities living in Roman military forts and fortresses. This explores the distribution of artefacts, focusing especially on non-combatants and contains a study of a number of military sites in Germany.

Birley, Andrew. 'The fort wall: a great divide?', in Rob Collins and Matthew Symonds, eds. *Breaking down Boundaries: Hadrian's Wall in the 21st century*: 85–104. Portsmouth R.I, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 93, 2013.

An article that seeks to challenge the idea that there was a strict division between people living in Roman forts and vici (civil settlements) on the basis on the lengthy excavations at Vindolanda (Northumberland, UK).

Bowman, Alan K. 'Outposts of empire: Vindolanda, Egypt, and the Empire of Rome', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 19 (2006): 75–93.

An article that argues that evidence for literacy in northern Britannia and Egypt illustrates inclusivity as a key aspect of imperial order and also argues for the importance of the evidence for local literacies derived from these frontier regions.

Carroll, Maureen. 'Projecting self-perception on the Roman frontiers: the evidence of dress and funerary portraits', in David J. Breeze, Rebecca H. Jones and Ioana A. Oltean, eds. *Understanding Roman Frontiers: a celebration for Professor Bill Hanson*: 154–166. Edinburgh, John Donald, 2015.

An account of how depictions of people in the frontier regions assist with the understanding of the way these peoples thought about themselves.

Gilliver, Kate. *The Roman art of war*. Stroud, Tempus, 1999.

An account of the Roman army in the late Republic and early Empire, focusing on organisation and fighting.

Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith. *The Roman Army at War, 100 BC–AD 200*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996.

An account of how the Roman army operated when it was at war, including the flexible ways that it operated on campaign.

Green, Elizabeth M. 'Conubium cum uxoribus: wives and children in the Roman military diplomas', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28 (2015): 125–159.

An important study of evidence for women and children in military communities on the German and British frontiers, addressing in particular the information from military diplomas.

James, Simon. 'The community of soldiers', in Patricia Baker, Sophia Jundi and Colin Forcey, eds. *TRAC 98: Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*: 14–25. Oxford, Oxbow, 1999.

An article that argues that the Roman army should be addressed as a community rather than a military machine.

Peoples on and beyond the frontiers

The relevant literature on this topic is growing and a section of sources is given here. Hunter 2002 and Wells 2008 provides summaries of people beyond the imperial frontier. Wells 2013 includes a number of articles addressing people beyond the northern frontiers. Janković et al. 2014 includes a variety of papers that take very different directions.

Hunter, Fraser. 'Problems in the study of Roman and native', in Philip Freeman, Julian Bennett, Zbigniew T. Fiema and Birgitta Hoffmann, eds. *Limes XVIII: proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, held in Amman, September 2000*: 43-50. 2 vols. Oxford, Archaeopress, 2002.

An article that addresses the impact of Rome beyond its northern frontiers by addressing imported materials, with a particular focus on Scotland and Ireland.

Janković, Marko A., Vladimir D. Mihajlović and Staša Babić, eds. *The Edges of the Roman World*: 19-32. Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

A collection of papers that explores peoples in the marginal areas of the empire, including papers by a number of early career researchers.

Wells, Peter. 'People beyond the Roman imperial frontiers', in Edward Bispham, ed. *Roman Europe: Short Oxford History of Europe*: 299–328. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.

A synthetic summary of the impact of the creation of the Roman frontier on the people beyond it, focusing primarily on the northern parts of the empire.

Wells, Peter, ed. *Rome beyond its frontiers: imports, attitudes and practices*. Portsmouth R.I, Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2013.

A collection of articles that explores trading across the Roman frontiers to areas outside the borders, particularly to the north and northwest.

Britain and Ireland

Barely 2002 and Pearce 2002 consider evidence from the Vindolanda letters for communities and economies on the frontier, Hunter addresses an art style that spread across the northern part of the province. Hingley 2010 considers the multicultural communities of the frontier and Cahill Wilson 2014 addresses evidence for interaction between Ireland and the Roman empire.

Birley, Anthony R. 'The Roman army in the Vindolanda tablets', in Philip Freeman, Julian Bennett, Zbigniew T. Fiema and Birgitta Hoffmann, eds. *Limes XVIII: proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, held in Amman, September 2000*: 925-930. 2 vols. Oxford, Archaeopress, 2002.

A summary of the information provided by the important discovery of writing tablets at the Roman fort of Vindolanda (Northumberland).

Cahill Wilson, Jacqueline, ed. 'Romans and Roman material in Ireland: a wider social perspective', in *Late Iron Age and 'Roman' Ireland*: 11–58. Discovery Programme Report 8, Dublin, 2014.

A thorough survey of Roman contact with and Roman materials from Ireland, resulting from a major project run by The Discover Programme in Dublin.

Hingley, Richard. 'Tales of the frontier: diasporas on Hadrian's Wall', in Hella Eckardt, ed. *Roman diasporas: Archaeological approaches to mobility and diversity in the Roman empire*: 227–234. Portsmouth, Rhode Island. Supplementary Series No. 78, 2010.

An account of the far-flung origins of the Roman communities living along Hadrian's Wall and the consequences for the marketing of the World Heritage Site.

Hunter, Fraser. 'Interpreting Celtic art on the Roman frontier—the development of a frontier culture in Britain?', in Lyudmil Vagalinski and Nicolay Sharankov, eds. *Limes XXII: proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Ruse, Bulgaria, September 2012*: 721–728. Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, 2015.

Innovative article on how a composite form of decorated metalwork may have spanned military and civilian communities in the frontier regions of Britannia.

Pearce, John. 'Food as substance and symbol in the Roman army: a case study from Vindolanda', in Philip Freeman, Julian Bennett, Zbigniew T. Fiema and Birgitta Hoffmann, eds. *Limes XVIII: proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, held in Amman, September 2000*: 931-944. 2 vols. Oxford, Archaeopress, 2002.

A case study of food and diet, drawing in particular on information derived from the Roman fort at Vindolanda (Northumberland).

The Rhine and Danube

Selected sources are included. Carroll 2001, Creighton and Wilson 1999 and De Sena et al. 2011 contain articles on frontier peoples. Verb 2008 and Roymans 2007 contain innovative studies of particular peoples. Mattern 2013 summarises relationships between Romans and 'barbarians'.

Bridger, Clive. 'Veteran settlement in the Lower Rhineland: the evidence from the *civitas Traianensis*', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 19 (2006): 137–149.

An article that suggests that the settlement of veterans on the Rhine frontier was part of a strategy that arose from potential belligerent threats from Germanic tribes beyond the frontier.

Carroll, Maureen. *Romans, Celts and Germans: The German Provinces of Rome*. Stroud, Tempus, 2001.

An account of Roman Germany with a chapter on conquest and the frontiers and also accounts of native communities and their responses to Roman conquest and incorporation.

Creighton, John and Roger Wilson, eds. *Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction*. Portsmouth, R. I. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 32, 1999.

A collection of articles derived from a conference session that address the relationship between the Roman army and administration and the native peoples of Germany.

De Sena, Eric C. and Halina Dobrzanska, eds. *The Roman Empire and beyond: archaeological and historical research on the Romans and native cultures in central Europe*. Oxford, Archaeopress, British Archaeological Reports International 2236, 2011.

A collection of articles derived from a session at the European Archaeological Association that addresses the relationships between native cultures and the Roman army in central and eastern provinces of the Roman empire.

Mattern, Susan. 'Barbarian Friends and foes: hegemony beyond the Rhine and Danube, AD 14–98', in Dexter Hoyos *A Companion to Roman Imperialism*: 213–224. Leiden, Brill, 2013.

An account of relationships between the Romans and native peoples on the northern frontiers during the first century, before the limes were clearly defined.

Roymans, Nico. *Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power: The Batavians in the Early Roman Empire*. Amsterdam Archaeological Studies, Amsterdam University Press, 2004.

Detailed study of the relationship of the tribe or civitas of the Batavi in the Lower Rhine Valley and their relationship to the establishment of the Roman frontier.

Vrba, Eric Michael. *Ancient German Identity in the Shadow of the Roman Empire: The Impact of Roman trade and contact along the middle Danube frontier, 10 BC–AD 166*. Oxford, Archaeopress, British Archaeological Reports International 1991, 2008.

A substantial and informative volume that arose from a PhD that addresses the impact of the Roman frontier on indigenous communities in what is now southwestern Slovakia. This contains some useful discussion of concepts related to the frontiers and frontier identities.

The East and North Africa

A selection of sources is included. Alston 1995 summarised information for frontier society in Egypt, while Hilali 2011 and Isaac 2013 summarise information for particular peoples. Mattingly and Sterry 2013 explore the evidence for the reaction of a particular people to contact with the Roman empire and Langerwerf 2014 addresses correspondences between ancient and contemporary policies on the borders of empire.

Alston, Richard. *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt: a social history*. London, Routledge, 1995.

An account of the organisation and character of the Roman army in Egypt with some discussion of the relationship between soldiers and civilians.

Hilali, Arbia. 'Recherche sur les frontières de l'Afrique romaine: espaces mobiles et représentations', in Olivier Heckster and Ted Kaizer, eds. *Frontiers in the Roman World: Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire*: 97–111. Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2011.

An article on the African frontiers as spaces for economic exchange and social dynamics between various divergent groups.

Isaac, Benjamin. 'Eastern Hegemonies and setbacks, AD 14–96', in Dexter Hoyos *A Companion to Roman Imperialism*: 237–250. Leiden, Brill, 2013.

An account of the involvement of the Roman empire in the east at a period of imperial annexation, including information on the reorganisation of the eastern frontier.

Langerwerf, Lydia. 'The people's protest: Accounts of resistance from Cassius Dio to Bashir Al-Assad', in Marko A. Janković, Vladimir D. Mihajlović and Staša Babić, eds. *The Edges of the Roman World*: 19-32. Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014.

An interesting article that draws comparisons between Roman and contemporary border/frontier policies in the Middle East.

Mattingly, David and Martin Sterry. 'The first towns in central Sahara', *Antiquity* 87 (336) (2013): 503–518.

A study of the development of urban settlements in the Saharan oases well beyond the southern frontiers of the Roman empire and the trading relationship that linked these people to Rome.

Late Roman frontiers

This is a distinct topic that has been addressed by a variety of researchers and a selection of works is listed below. Additional papers are included in the various Congress of Roman Frontier Studies volumes and only a few texts are listed here. Elton 1996 and Pohl 1997 address relations between Romans and 'barbarians' while Graham 2006 consider the rise of frontier consciousness. Collins et al. 2015 includes a variety of articles that address late military architecture.

Collins, Rob, Matt Simmonds and Meike Weber. *Roman Military Architecture on the Frontiers: Armies and their Architecture in Late Antiquity*. Oxford, Oxbow, 2015.

An account of the more dynamic and less predictable forces of the Roman army during the late Roman period during the third century and later, focusing in particular on architecture, with an introductory article by Collins and Weber.

Elton, Hugh. *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350–425*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1996.

An account of relationships between Rome and 'barbarians' in Germanic areas and in Britain, focusing on the organisation of the late Roman army, with a section on fortifications.

Graham, Mark W. *News and Frontier consciousness in the Late Roman Empire*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2006.

Argues that a new consciousness of frontiers arose in the third century CE as territories and that this gradually replaced the Roman world as without limits. This is identified as 'frontier consciousness' and argued to have significantly influenced ideas about Roman identity.

Pohl, Walter, ed. *Kingdoms of the Empire: the integration of barbarians in Late Antiquity*. The Transformation of the Roman World, Volume 1, Leiden, Brill, 1997.

An edited book with a series of account of how barbarians were integrated into the Roman empire from the fourth century, with an introductory article by the editor.

Hadrian's Wall

Relevant recent work has focused on this monument and the works by Collins 2012 and Collins and Allason-Jones 2010 summaries this work.

Collins, Rob. *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire*. New York and London, Routledge, 2012.

An account of late Roman Wall in the fourth and fifth centuries and the late Roman societies along its line.

Collins, Rob and Lindsay Allason-Jones, eds. *Finds from the Frontier: material culture in the 4th–5th centuries*. York, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 162, 2010.

A collection of articles about material culture from the late phases of Hadrian's Wall.

The limes on the Rhine and Danube

Additional research and publication is required on this topic but Mackensen 1999 provides a summary.

Mackensen, Michael. 'Later Roman fortifications and building programmes in the Roman province of Raetia: the evidence of recent excavations and some new reflections', in John Creighton and Roger Wilson, eds. *Roman Germany. Studies in Cultural Interaction*: 199–244. Portsmouth, R. I. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 32, 1999.

An account of Roman-native interaction from AD 260 to the end of the Roman period.

The East and North Africa

Graf 1997, Parker 1997, Lewin 2011 and Rushworth 2015 provide some case studies. Additional research and publication is required.

Graf, D.F. 'The via militaris and the limes Arabicus', in W. Groenman-van Watering, B. L. van Beek, W.J.H. Willems and S.L. Wynia, eds. *Roman frontier studies 1995: Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*: 123–134. Oxford, Oxbow, 1997.

A contemplation of the late Roman frontier in Jordan.

Lewin, Ariel S. 'The new frontiers of Late Antiquity in the Near East. From Diocletian to Justinian', in Olivier Heckster and Ted Kaizer, eds. *Frontiers in the Roman World: Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire*: : 233–263. Leiden & Boston, Brill, 2011.

A study of the eastern frontier in late antiquity and the consequences for those living in these regions.

Parker, S. T. 'Geography and Strategy on the southeastern frontier in the Late Roman period', in W. Groenman-van Watering, B. L. van Beek, W.J.H. Willems and S.L. Wynia, eds. *Roman frontier studies 1995: Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*: 115–122. Oxford, Oxbow, 1997.

An account of the problems and opportunities for understanding late strategy in the south-eastern empire.

Rushworth, Alan. 'Castras or Centenarias? Interpreting the later forts of the North African frontier', in Rob Collins, Matt Simmonds and Meike Weber. *Roman Military Architecture on the Frontiers: Armies and their Architecture in Late Antiquity*: 122–139. Oxford, Oxbow, 2015.

An informative essay on the types of Roman fortifications represented on the North African frontier in Numidia, Tripolitania and Mauritania during the fourth century and later.

Heritage and the World Heritage Status of the Roman Frontiers

An extensive literature is developing that focuses on the Roman frontiers as a heritage resources. Part of this concerns the inscription of much of the monument as a World Heritage Site, a process that has progressed rather further in Europe than in North Africa and the Middle East. More work on the variable meanings of the Roman frontier has been undertaken in the UK, partly as an attempt to challenge the traditions of focusing on primarily tangible heritage arising from the traditions of Roman frontier studies.

The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site

Recent attention has focused on defining and managing this transnational monument. Breeze and Jilek 2008 introduces the topic, while DCMS 2012 summarises the values of the monument. Brough 2015, Macinnes 2015 and Sommer 2015 provide recent summaries of the progress of the initiative. Mills 2013 includes papers that address various aspects of the heritage of the moment while Hingley 2015 and Witcher 2015 consider aspects of the contemporary values of Roman frontiers.

Breeze, David. J. and Sonja Jilek, eds. *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: The European dimension of a World Heritage Site*. Edinburgh, Historic Scotland, 2008.

A series of articles on the interpretation and management of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage initiative.

Brough, David. 'Factors Influencing the Future development of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site', in Lyudmil Vagalinski and Nicolay Sharankov, eds. *Limes XXII: proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Ruse, Bulgaria, September 2012*: 933–940. Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, 2015.

An interesting account of the political and social context of the World Heritage Site, including the observation that most individuals studying the Roman frontiers come from the areas in which inscription has been taken up (e.g. Europe).

DCMS [Draft] *Statement of Outstanding Universal Value for the Frontiers of the Roman Empire and its Component Parts (WHS FRE) (C430)*, 2012.

<http://www.culture.gov.uk/images/publications/SOUV_Frontiers_of_the_Roman_Empire.pdf>
[accessed 14/7/2014].

A draft document that defines the Outstanding Universal Values of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site.

Hingley, Richard. 'The Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site and Transnational Heritage', in Peter F. Biehl, Douglas C. Cromer, Christopher Prescott and Hilary A. Soderland, eds. *Identity and Heritage: Contemporary Challenges in a Globalized World*: 55-64. Springer, New York. Springer briefs in Archaeological Heritage Management, 2015.

An article that explores the political and cultural context of the Frontiers of the Roman Empire in the context of contemporary debates about mobilities and bordering.

Macinnes, Lesley. 'Frontiers reunited: the making of an international World Heritage Site', in David J. Breeze, Rebecca H. Jones and Ioana A. Oltean, eds. *Understanding Roman Frontiers: a celebration for Professor Bill Hanson*: 372–384. Edinburgh, John Donald, 2015.

An account of the proposal to inscribe the Frontiers of the Roman Empire as a World Heritage Site and prospects for the future.

Mills, Nigel, ed. *Presenting the Romans: Interpreting the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site*. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2013.

A collection of papers from the Limes Congress in Newcastle in 2009 that address the interpretation of the Roman frontiers, mainly focused on the UK but also with a number of international contributions on the Rhine and Danube *limes*.

Sommer, C. Sebastian. 'WHS FRE (Frontiers of the Roman Empire)–running and expanding the World Heritage Site', in Lyudmil Vagalinski and Nicolay Sharankov, eds. *Limes XXII: proceedings of the 22nd International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Ruse, Bulgaria, September 2012*: 919–922. Sofia, National Archaeological Institute with Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Science, 2015.

An up-date summary of the successes and limitations of the proposal to extend World Heritage status to the Frontiers of the Roman Empire.

Witcher, Robert. 'Globalisation and Roman cultural heritage', in M. Pitts and M.-J. Versluys, eds. *Globalisation and the Roman World: World history, connectivity and material culture*: 198–222. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

An article that explores the cultural context and heritage of Roman frontiers and peoples.

Hadrian's Wall

The most thorough research has focused on this monument. Stone and Brough 2014 contains a series of papers. Mills et al. 2013 discusses interpretative strategy, while Bishop 2013 considers reenactment. Hingley 2015 proposes an ethnographic project on Hadrian's Wall that is currently in its early stages.

Stone, Peter G. and David Brough, eds. *Managing, Using, and Interpreting Hadrian's Wall as World Heritage*: 115-125. Springer. Springer Briefs in Archaeology 2, 2014.

A collection of papers addressing the management and interpretation of Hadrian's Wall.

Bishop, Mike. 'Re-enactment and Living History—issues about authenticity', in Nigel Mills, ed. *Presenting the Romans: Interpreting the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site*: 23-30. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2013.

A study of reenactment, which is a popular pastime on the Roman frontiers.

Hingley, Richard. 'Working with descendants communities in the study of Roman Britain: Fragments of an ethnographic project design', in Craig Cipolla and Katherine H. Hayes, eds. *Rethinking Colonialism: Comparative Archaeological Approaches*: 161-189. Gainesville University Press of Florida, 2015.

An article that looks at the context of Roman studies in the UK and argues for an ethnographic project on the Roman frontiers to assess how modern communities assess these monuments across Europe and beyond.

Mills, Nigel, Tim Padley, John Scott, Lucie Branczik and Genevieve Adkins. 'Applying the Hadrian's Wall Interpretational Framework', in Nigel Mills, ed. *Presenting the Romans: Interpreting the Frontiers of the Roman Empire World Heritage Site*: 181-192. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2013.

An article considering the development and implementation of the Interpretational Framework for Hadrian's Wall and its use for developing visitor facilities.

The limes on the Rhine and Danube

Additional research and publication is required, although the articles in Flügel and Obmann 2013 indicates that important research is occurring.

Flügel, Christof and Jürgen Obmann. *Römische Wehrbauten: Befund und Rekonstruktion*. Munich, Volk Verlag, 2013.

A collection of papers from a conference held in Munich in 2010 on the reconstruction of Roman monuments at modern open air museums.

North Africa

The near east and North Africa require additional research to explore contrasting values with the areas of the Roman frontiers in Europe, as indicated by Lafrenze Samuels interesting paper.

Lafrenze Samuels, Kathryn. 'Roman archaeology and the making of heritage citizens in Tunisia', in Darian Marie Totten and Kathryn Lafrenze Samuels, eds. *Making Roman Places, Past and Present: Papers presented at the first Critical Roman Archaeology Conference held at Stanford University in March, 2008*: 159–170. Rhode Island, Journal of Roman Archaeology. Supplementary Series 89, 2012.

An exploration of heritage, tourism and Roman monuments in modern Tunisia (before the contemporary troubles).